

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 ISO-00 /026 W

----- 061311

O 091830Z AUG 76

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9033

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 4420

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, TU, GR

SUBJECT: SITUATION IN THE AEGEAN

SUMMARY: AGAINST BACKGROUND OF MOUNTING TENSION SURROUNDING ACTIVITIES OF TURKISH SEISMIC VESSEL IN THE AEGEAN, ACTING SYG PANSAL CALLED AUGUST 9 MEETING OF UK AND ITALIAN PERMREPS AND FRENCH, FRG, NETHERLANDS AND US CHARGES TO DISCUSS POSSIBILITY OF CONVENING NAC MEETING TO URGE RESTRAINT ON GREECE AND TURKEY. UPSHOT WAS PANSAL'S DECISION TO REITERATE TO GREEK AND TURKISH PERMREPS CONCERNS HE HAD EARLIER EXPRESSED ON BEHALF OF SYG LUNS AND HIMSELF (USNATO 4274) AND TO URGE RETURN TO BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS ON THE AEGEAN DISPUTE. IT WAS ALSO AGREED THAT PANSAL WOULD RECONVENE GROUP AUGUST 10 TO DISCUSS ON AN INSTRUCTED BASIS NATIONAL ATTITUDES TOWARD CONVENING A NAC DISCUSSION. ACTION REQUESTED: GUIDANCE FOR USE AUGUST 10 WITH REGARD TO DESIRABILITY OF CONVENING NAC ON THE GREEK-TURKISH DISPUTE ON THE AEGEAN. END SUMMARY.

1. PANSAL REPORTED THAT GREEN PERMREP THEODORPOULOS HAD TOLD HIM AUGUST 6 THAT THE TURKS HAD RESPONDED REGIDLY TO A CALMLY WORDED GREEK NOTE CONVERNING THE INTRUSION  
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OF THE SISMIC INTO CONTENTIOUS AREAS OF THE AEGEAN. FOLLOWING A GREEK "WAR CABINET" MEETING AUGUST 9, THEODORPOULOS TOLD PANSAL THAT A SECOND PROTEST NOTE HAD BEEN SENT TO TURKEY INDICATING THAT TURKISH POSITION HAD CREATED A

VERY DIFFICULT SITUATION, CHARACTERIZED AS AN "INVITATION TO CONFRONTATION." THEODOROPOULOS ALSO SAID MAVROS HAD CALLED INTO QUESTION PUBLICLY THE VALUE OF NATO, ALLEGING IT ONCE AGAIN WAS IMPOTENT TO INTERVENE CONSTRUCTIVELY.

2. WITH REGARD TO A POSSIBLE NAC SESSION, THEODOROPOULOS TOLD PANSALIS THAT IT WAS PROBABLE THAT GOG DID NOT WISH TO ESCALATE THE ISSUE TO NAC, SINCE BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS WERE THE PROPER AVENUE TO RESOLVING THE ISSUES WITH TURKEY. THEREFORE, PANSALIS WONDERED WHETHER THE GREEKS WOULD BE DISPLEASED IF HE WERE TO CALL A NAC MEETING, ESPECIALLY SINCE THE GOG DOUBTLESS WAS AWARE THAT GOVERNMENTS APART FROM THE PARTIES WOULD TAKE AN EVENHANDED APPROACH TO THE DISPUTE, WHEREAS THE GREEKS CLEARLY FELT THREATENED AND ARE SEEKING SUPPORT. IN THE ENSUING CONVERSATION AMONG PERMREPS AND CHARGES, SEVERAL POINTED OUT THAT, BY CONTRAST, A FAILURE BY NATO TO APPEAR ACTIVE COULD CONTRIBUTE TO FURTHER RECRIMINATIONS TOWARD NATO

3. DEAN OF PERMREPS (CATALANO (ITALY) DOUBTED THE VALUE OF A NAC CONSULTATION, FOR HE SAW NO WAY TO PLEASE BOTH THE GREEKS AND TURKS SIMULTANEOUSLY. HE AGREED WITH PANSALIS THAT THE MAXIMUM ACHIEVABLE WOULD BE A NAC CONSENSUS THAT BOTH SIDES SHOULD EXERCISE RESTRAINT. KILLICK (UK), BASED ON TELEPHONIC GUIDANCE, AGREED WITH CATALANO, STATING THAT NO CONCRETE RESULTS WOULD BE ACHIEVED IN A NAC DISCUSSION AND THAT IT COULD ONLY MAKE MATTERS WORSE. BUWALDA (NETHERLANDS) ALSO SAW LITTLE SENSE IN A SUBSTANTIVE NAC DISCUSSION OF THE DISPUTE, BUT BY CONTRAST HE SAW MERIT IN THE ARGUMENT THAT IF NATO DID NOTHING OPPOSITION LEADERS IN GREECE WOULD CLAIM CORRECTLY THAT THE ALLIANCE WAS SO LITTLE CONCERNED THAT THE NAC DID NOT EVEN MEET. MOREOVER, IN VIEW OF THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE GOG WOULD TAKE THE ISSUE TO THE UN, HE ALSO SAW VALUE IN NAC REASSERTING TO GREECE AND TURKEY THE INJUNCTION IN ARTICLE 57 OF THE 1956 REPORT OF THE THREE WISE MEN THAT ALLIES SHOULD SUBMIT DISPUTES TO GOOD OFFICES PROCEDURES WITHIN THE NATO FRAMEWORK BEFORE RESORTING TO ANY OTHER  
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INTERNATIONAL AGENCY.

4. BUWALDA SAID THAT NETHERLANDS FONMIN VAN DER STOEP CURRENTLY IS IN ATHENS, WHERE KARAMANLIS AND KISSIOS BOTH HAD REITERATED TO HIM WELL-KNOWN GREEK ARGUMENTS. VAN DER STOEP HAD PLEADED FOR MODERATION, POINTING OUT THAT WORLD SYMPATHY WOULD LIE WITH THAT PARTY EXERCISING THE MOST RESTRAINT. KARAMANLIS, ACCORDING TO BUWALDA, HAD ASKED VAN DER STOEP, AS CHAIRMAN OF THE EC-NINE, TO CONVEY TO THE NINE KARAMANLIS' HOPE THAT THEY WOULD EXPRESS THEIR CONCERNS TO THE GOG. KARAMANLIS ALSO TOLD VAN DER STOEP THAT THE GOG HAD DECIDED: (A) IF THE TURKS REJECT A SECOND GREEK NOTE, THE GOG WOULD

ASK THAT THE UNSC BE CONVENED AUGUST 10; AND (B) IF THE ISSUE COMES BEFORE THE UNSEC, THE GREEKS WOULD PLEAD FOR A RESOLUTION (1) CALLING UPON TURKEY TO CEASE IMMEDIATELY THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SISMIC ABOVE THE CONTESTED PORTIONS OF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF AND (2) ADVISING THE PARTIES TO SUBMIT THE ISSUE TO THE ICJ OR TO RESUME DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS.

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INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

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EXDIS

5. KARAMANLIS ALSO REPORTEDLY TOLD VAN DER STOEL THAT IF THE RESOLUTION WERE NOT ADOPTED OR ACCEPTED BY TURKEY, A DANGEROUS SITUATION WOULD ENSUE. ACCORDINGLY, KARAMANLIS URGED THE ALLIES AND FRIENDS OF GREECE NOW TO DO THEIR PART TO IMPRESS UPON TURKEY THE NEED FOR MODERATION. BUWALDA SAID VAN DER STOEL HAD TOLD KARAMANLIS THAT HE WAS GRATEFUL THAT KARAMANLIS HAD RESISTED THE IMPULSE TO ACT VIOLENTLY. BUWALDA ALSO REPORTED VAN DER STOEL'S CONCERN ABOUT PAPANDREOU'S DEMAND THAT GREEK FORCES EXPEL THE SISMIC FROM GREEK WATERS OR SINK IT AND MAVROS' CALL FOR CLOSURE OF US BASES IN GREECE.

6. BUWALDA CONTINUED THAT GON AUGUST 9 HAD REQUESTED VAN DER STOEL TO SOUND OUT KARAMANLIS' ATTITUDE TOWARD THE POSSIBILITY OF A NAC MEETING ON THE SITUATION, BUT BUWALDA HAD NO INFORMATION ON THE RESULTS OF THE SOUNDING.

5. BOSS (FRG) STATED HIS AUTHORITIES AGREED WITH THE UK THAT LITTLE PURPOSE WOULD BE SERVED IN A NAC MEETING AND KILLICK SAID HE BELIEVED IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE FOR LUNS OR PANSA TO URGE RESTRAINT VIA THE GREEK AND TURKISH PERMREPS.

6. US CHARGE, RECALLING EARLIER APPROACH BY PANSA TO GREEK AND TURKISH PERMREPS ON BEHALF OF LUNS (STATE

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190360), JOINED IN FAVORING AN IMMEDIATE NEW APPROACH BY PANSAS IN ADVANCE OF ANY NAC MEETING THAT MIGHT LATER BE HELD. DE LA FERRIERE (FRANCE) ALSO SUPPORTED APPROACH BY PANSAS, BUT JOINED US CHARGE IN OPPOSING KILLICK'S SUGGESTION THAT THE PRESS BE INFORMED.

7. PANSAS AGREED TO SPEAK TO GREEK AND TURKISH PERMREPS AUGUST 9, AND REQUESTED THAT THOSE PRESENT URGENTLY SEEK THE VIEWS OF THEIR AUTHORITIES ON CONVENING A NAC MEETING AUGUST 10. STREATOR

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